

SHEIKH DJAMIL DJAHO AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CRITICISM OF MINANGKABAU MUSLIM: A Study on *Tazkirat al-Qulub Fi Mu'amalat 'Allam al-Guyub*

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the socio-religious critique of Sheikh Djamil Djaho on the religious and socio-society conditions in Minangkabau. Analysis of the content and approach of social history-intellectuals was used to dissect the contents of the book *Tazkirat al-Qulub* associated with social-religious context in the policy at the beginning of the 20th century. Based on the analysis of texts it is known that Sheikh Djaho expressed his criticism towards several groups. Among the groups are (1) scholars, (2) worshippers, (3) Sufism experts, and (4) experts of the world. According to Sheikh Djaho, the four groups might include *gurūr* (faction), when they use intelligence in their respective fields as masks, not in honesty. This study shows three points. First, the presence of Sheikh Djaho's criticism departs from the reality of the life of the clergy and layman at that time. Second, the reality of social life keeps a text alive in society. Third, the solution to social-religious reality in the early 20th century was the practice of *taṣawwuf*.

Keywords: works of ulama, Minangkabau, classical texts, social criticism, *taṣawwuf*.

INTRODUCTION

Minangkabau is an area that had significant religious dynamics in the early 20th century (Schrieke, 1975: 4). This situation was caused by various aspects. Apart from the emergence of the reformers, who tried to modernize the religious tradition that had been passed down by the previous generation, it was also nuanced by the interests of the Dutch colonial and the rise of the spirit of nationalism (Hadler, 2010). Various elites, in this context are scholars, tried to establish influence in the midst of society. The dynamics took place in various fields. Among them are in the field of education and educational institutions, *da'wah*, and other socio-religious aspects.

In the socio-religious aspect, there are various phenomena which make Minangkabau always interesting to note. The ideas of Islamic renewal, for example, resulted in the separation between ulama, with the youths as the driving force of

renewal and the older ones as the keeper of tradition (Latief, 1988). Although no significant gaps existed in these two groups, in addition to its nomenclature which popularized by Colonials, the existence of Youth and Elder Groups has had an insurmountable impact. Many debates, that often ended in conflict, were born from *ikhtilaf fiqhiyyah* (different interpretation of the Islamic law).

Islamic education which was originally implemented through *surau* institution, then underwent renewal, with the entry of the classical system as the replacement of *halaqah* (Azra, 2002b). Although the change had a positive impact on the course of an education, it also affected the survival of a tradition. *Halaqah* teaches good manner; sitting in the floor with a row of ethical codes, it was all replaced by sitting on a bench, with emotional tie not as strong as sitting around the teacher.

One thing that is criticized by many ulama,

at that time, is about the void of moral in various lines of life. If in the tradition of transmitting Islamic knowledge prioritizes good manner in learning, secular education run by colonials concerned with the subject matter more than ethics during learning. Not infrequently the existence of teacher is not in the position of 'object' in the eyes of students, but more to the 'subject' who serve only as a provider of material.

The development of worldly life in the form of modernity also colored the dynamics of the early 20th century. The emergence of the desire to seek the worldly livelihood, coupled with the trader mentality possessed by Minangkabau society momentarily, became the driving factor of worldly-oriented life attitude (Radjab, 1954). This orientation influenced the life of the Minangkabau people. If previously farming was a daytime activity and went to surau when the night arrived, it would no longer be a life priority. Many worldly ideals influenced the mentality of the younger generation at that time. One of the things affected by the worldly ideals was the fading existence of the religiosity in line with the mounting materialistic needs.

The aforementioned matters made ulama, especially the Elder Ulama, criticizing the circumstances during that time. Many writings were produced by ulama to respond such matter. The writings are in the form of short articles in newspapers or marketed books.

The articles and books regard to the moral decline and degradation of religious knowledge and therefore focused more on efforts to be back the root of Islamic spirituality, *taṣawwuf*. In reality, *taṣawwuf* on one side can be a self-criticism toward an ongoing condition. *Taṣawwuf* is not always talking about the ritual about the approach of servants to the creator. On the other side *taṣawwuf* can also become a barometer of socio-community and socio-religious life.

One form of response to socio-religious dynamics in the early 20th century was written by Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho (1975-1950) in a book called *Tazkirat al-Qulūb fī Mu'amalāt 'Allām al-Guyūb*. This book is a very popular treatise, written by one of the elders and also

prominent educators among the Older Group. Since being written and printed in the early 1940s, it has not lost market share until now. In fact, this book became one of the reading materials for *taṣawwuf* subject in madrassas in the environment of Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association. This implies that this book is still considered relevant to addressing the current socio-community situation.

A strongly rooted writing, by being used as a subject of matter and general reading after passing through various times, is a unique thing to be noticed further. *Tazkirat al-Qulub*, which enters the category of "long-lived" books, is interesting to be studied in depth if associated with its context of writing. The research problems are how did Sheikh Djamil respond to the socio-religious dynamics of his day? How did Sheikh Djamil assess the overlapping situation between modernity, colonialism, and degradation of etiquette? They will all be discussed based on content analysis on the work of Sheikh Djamil Djaho.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study applies the intellectual social history approach. The approach allows to place the text of *Miṣbāḥ al-zalām* in the framework of religious upheaval in West Sumatra in the early 20th century. Social history, as expressed by Azra, is a study of the factors, even in the realm of social sphere-which affects the occurrence of the events of history itself (Azra, 2002a: 4). Related to the matter, Tsing Kartodirjo, as quoted by Azra, mentions further that social history is the history of the splinter "movement" from the mainstream society or the established social and political order (Azra, 2002a: 5).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Minangkabau in the Context Of Socio-Religious at the End Of Second Millennium

Talking about Minangkabau certainly will not be separated from a number of important events in this region's history. Among them are Minangkabau custom, Islam, and the struggle

to be free from colonialism. In terms of custom, Minangkabau is known as a region which is strongly holding its customs and cultures.² Although, in almost every period, there are some people who criticize the custom, Minangkabau custom with all its dynamics is maintained and always become a pride because the region which is strongly holding these customs and traditions can survive along with Islam which rooted deeper. Custom does not just disappear, by going through difficult times because of the influence of the times, in fact, it is getting stronger juxtaposed with *syara'* (religion of Islam). Until the appearance of a parable, Minangkabau customs and Islam is like water and cliff, both complement and synergize each other.

In terms of struggle for independence, Minangkabau has marked a history as a region that has a fighting spirit against colonialism. The war that occurred in the 19th century and the in beginning of the 20th century become the witness. In the early 19th century there was a war known as the Paderi War, the war, which in Dobbin's account, was the antithesis of the struggle for economic influence in the deeper region (Dobbin, 2008: 198-202). This war almost broke Dutch's spirit to monopolize economic resources. In addition to economy as the cause of the war, the lengthy period of war also resulted in huge material damage for the Colonials.

Padri was subjugated by the Colonials with the capture of Tuanku Imam and his exile to Java then to Menado. However, various forms of local struggle of Minangkabau society still continued. In the early 20th century, there was Belasting War as a response to Colonial policy in taxation in Minangkabau (Amran, 1985: 324-34). As before, the Minangkabau community didn't accept it, even they struggled as a form of resistance against the policy which was disadvantageous to the people.

²In the 1950s decade, Hamka released a book containing sharp criticism toward Minangkabau custom. The title was *Adat Minangkabau Menghadapi Revolusi*. This book had triggered protest from tradition group, but the criticism didn't last long. Hamka's book then becomes a literature about the dynamics of custom, not more.

In addition to issues concerning colonial policy, the early 20th century also became an important point of unanimity of religious thoughts in Minangkabau. The introduction to Islamic renewal from Egypt (Azra, 2002b) that undermined the understanding and practice of religion in Minangkabau resulted in debates both in writings and in oral. Not a few of the consequences that arose among common people about these religious issues. Even it was told that differences in religious practice caused a family broken (Arrasuli, 1938: 8). There were husbands who divorced their wives because of different religious ideas. There were also brothers who did not greet each other because one had considered the other as a heretic. Many negative events occurred in response to the spirit of renewal.

This fact has temporarily lost time to be dedicated in the society. On one side, ulama actually strove their *da'wah* to criticize the long-standing religious tradition, while on the other side there were other ulama who spent their time as apologetic.

Several studies on the renewal movement in Minangkabau emphasized the importance of al-Manār Magazine in the spirit of *tajdīd*. The magazine, which became the mouthpiece of Muhammad Abdūh and Rashid Rida, was spread across Minangkabau through Minangkabau students in Egypt (Azra, 1999: 92-93). The ideas of religious purification, in the sense of returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah, became the jargon voiced by al-Manār. In fact, al-Manār gained a place among some Minangkabau young ulamas. The birth of al-Manār Magazine in Padang and al-Manār al-Munīr in Padangpanjang was a testament to the influence of al-Manār in the thinking of young ulamas. These two magazines, like their predecessor al-Manār, voiced renewal with sharp criticism of the established practice in Minangkabau (Azra, 1999: 92-100).

The acceptance of al-Manār actually did not depart from a void space. The teacher of the Minangkabau ulama, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi from Bukittinggi, had previously

also thrown religious criticism against some practices in Minangkabau. At first, he criticized inherited local practices. According to him, some religious practices applied according to custom guidance is not in accordance with Islamic shari'ah. His book, *al-Manhaj al-Masyru'* is a strong counter-argument of the custom on heritage. Although this work was written by a prestigious figure in Mecca, it still received a lot of criticism. Many Minangkabau scholars criticized the plot of thought and *istidlal* of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib in this book (Latief, 1988). Nevertheless, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib's attitude in the criticism against custom created a deep impression in the heart of his students. If the critical attitude hasn't been familiar because it is subject to good manner courtesy, then criticism becomes an inseparable culture from the ideology of renewal.

Something that determines the position of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib as a prominent figure who colored the renewal of Islam is his criticism to Sufi order, the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa. It is important to note that the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa is an important element in the socio-religious life in Minangkabau. Almost all were practitioners and active in spreading this tariqa. The attitude of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib countering the tariqa practice is a form of thought of resistance against ulamas in his village. In addition, younger ulama' who are his students are promoting his teacher's thoughts in the form of being tariqa critics.

One of his disciples who is known to be a puritan is Haji Rasul. His full name is Abdul Karim Amarullah, born in Sungai Batang Maninjau. In addition to become an important ulama in Padangpanjang, he is also a modern madrasa, Thawalib. His father was a prominent ulama' in the field of *taṣawwuf* in the 19th century, namely Sheikh Amarullah or popularly known as Tuanku Kisa'i. Typically of *taṣawwuf* ulama, Sheikh Amarullah is a practitioner and a *mursyid* in several important tariqas in the Sunni tradition. The tariqas are Naqsyabandiyah, 'Alawiyah, and Haddadiyah (Putra, 2014: 191-203). Sheikh Amarullah once studied to Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan, a Shafi'iyah *mufti* in Mecca famous for

his rejection to Wahhabis. His teacher initiated Sheikh Amarullah to the 'Alawiyah Tariqa.

Haji Rasul was born and grew up in the thick *taṣawwuf* tradition, as can be seen from the position of his father who was a prominent *mursyid* in Minangkabau in the 19th century. Nevertheless, the flow of thought formed from long interaction with his teacher in Mecca, namely Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, did not necessarily make Haji Rasul "silent" against the tariqa practice, even though it was practiced by his own father. Thoughts are not always identical to the environment in which a person lives, but rather are formed by an influential teacher for a student.

In order to reject the practice of the tariqa, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib wrote a book *Iżħār zagħiġi kāzibin fi-tasyabhuhim bis-Şādigħi*. In responding to this book, Haji Rasul advocated his teacher's opinion by writing a book with a similar title, *Iżħar as-ātir al-muđillin fi-Tasayabhuhim bil-muļtadīn* (Opening the Curtain of the Apostasy of a Person who Resembles Himself as One who can Guide) (Putra, 2011: 26-27). Haji Rasul's response was an indication of the influence by Sheikh Ahmad Khatib.

More than Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who criticized one or two religious practices in his hometown, Haji Rasul passed the limit of his teacher's activity. In addition to the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa, Haji Rasul also criticized the Syattariyah Tariqa, *Amalan Maulid*, especially Barzanji, pronouncing the intention, and a full taqlid attitude in one school of *fiqh* (Putra, 2011: 72-90). Based on more puritanical activity, Haji Rasul has always been the best example of the early 20th century Islamic reformers.

As revealed in the previous section that the acceptance of *al-Manār* did not come from a vacuum situation, then interpreted with a critical attitude of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who has influenced his students who are the drivers of renewal. Sheikh Ahmad Khatib has laid the foundations of the renewal, albeit on a lesser scale, to his disciples. Therefore, most of his students immediately accepted *al-Manār*'s ideas,

which were not too far away from their teachers' critical stance.

Haji Rasul as the model of the early reformers has been educated by his teacher Sheikh Ahmad Khatib. The presence of al-Manār made his renewing spirit stronger, so he released controversial thoughts in his time. For example, he expressed the opinion of a person even though moving from taqlid to ijтиhad as mentioned in *sullam al-wuṣūl yurqā bihi ilā samā'i 'ilm al-uṣūl*, the first Malay book in *uṣūl* fiqh book. He went further than his teacher, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib. If the teacher still holds the Shafi'ite Madhhab, and he was appointed as one of the imams and preachers in the Shafi'ite Madhhab, then Haji Rasul expressed his courage to express his opinion outside the madhhab of his teacher. This made Sheikh Ahmad Khatib once issued a strict reprimand against his student.

In addition to al-Manār, the circulation of books from outside the Shafi'ite madhhab became one of the causes of religious struggle in Minangkabau. *Zād al-ma'ād* and *Subul al-salām* are two examples. *Zād al-ma'ād* is a monumental work of Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, a prominent student of Ibn Taymiyah. These teacher and disciple are often categorized as the figures behind the rise of Wahhabiyah followers in Nejd. Although still in the group of Hanabali Madhhab ulamas, Ibnu Taymiyyah and Ibnu Qayyim issued many controversial opinions in their *mazhab* group. Among others were the *tawassul*, the sufi tariqa, the nature of the *istiwa'*, and others. The *Zād al-ma'ād* was born in the spirit to restore the understanding to the Qur'an and Sunnah. With the momentum to follow the deeds of the Prophet Muhammad, *Zād al-ma'ād* contains some criticisms of the madhhabs that prevailed at that time. Therefore, it is understandable if Ibnu Qayyim (as well as his teacher) and his book received a strong rebuttal from other ulamas. In the case of Minangkabau, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi and Sheikh Muhammad Sa'ad al-Khalidi Mungka were ulamas who disputed the contents of *Zād al-ma'ād* (al-Minangkabawi, 1906; Mungka, 1910).

Like al-Manār, *Zād al-ma'ād* also gained a place among young ulamas in Minangkabau. Haji Rasul as the pioneer of young ulamas made this book as a reference when criticizing the practice of *talaffuz* bin-niyah (pronouncing intention) which is popular in Shafi'ite Madhhab (Putra, 2011: 75-76).

Subul al-salām, the second example, is also considered to influence young ulamas' way of thinking. Mahmud Yunus mentioned in his book, *al-Masā'il al-Fiqhiyyah*, even this book is the cause of differences in the implementation of *Tarāwih* prayer in Minangkabau (Yunus, 1950: 13). He stated that *Subul al-salām* asserted that *Tarāwih* should have eight *rak'ahs* with two *salams*, on the basis of *ittiba'* to the Prophet. This assertion differs from that which the Minangkabau Muslims have practiced based on the Shafi'ite Madhhab. Though it seems trivial, *Tarāwih* problem had been a debate in that period.

The emergence of the reformers made the Shafi'ite ulamas needed to fortify their religious ideology. They then actively defended the Shafi'ite madhhab and its deeds through writings, *tablīg*, and even open debate. In categorizing these two groups with distinct schools, the researchers invented the term Youth Group for reformist ulamas and the Elder Group for ulamas who defended existing religious traditions.

The dynamics that occurred between Youth and Elder Groups were not only happening in the arena of knowledge, but also in the activities of religious struggle. Young ulamas with an open attitude held a reform in the education system. They adopted many classical systems, as Colonials applied to *pribumi* schools. In addition, the Young Ulamas produced many essays, which can certainly be judged as a transitional form of literacy from classical books to modern books which are regarded as being appropriate to the times. M. Sanusi Latief made a comparison and came to a conclusion that the Youth Group were more productive in writing than the Elder ulamas (Latief, 1988). This fact is understandable that the Youth Group were motivated by a spirit of

renewal, instead, the Elders prefer to retain the existing tradition.

In the field of education, the Elder Group was more conservative. They did not only maintain the *halaqah* system but also accepted the concept of classical education as being done by the Youth Group. However, to certain conditions, the lessons and books are not replaced; they must be in accordance with what is derived by the respective chain of knowledge (*sanad*).

Among the popular schools of Reformers is Thawalib. Madrasah Thawalib had branches in most of the Darek region at that time (Daya, 1955). In comparison to the Thawalib of Youth Group, the Elder Group also developed a classical education under the name Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, which also stood in almost every region. The birth of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah was the result of the agreement of the old ulamas in Canduang in 1928. The first three madrasas among the Elder Group were Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang led by Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho led by Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho and Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Tobekgadang led by Sheikh Abdul Wahid Asshalihi.

In addition to the religious struggle between the Youth and the Elder Groups, another factor influencing the dynamics of Minangkabau muslims in the early 20th century was to reinforce the attention to the economic fulfillment. Radjab, one of the authors of the history of Singkarak, mentioned that in the early 20th century there were many young men wanted to move from their villages (Radjab, 1950: 125). The purpose of moving to other villages was not only to study an *anaksiak* (*santri*) in the past, but also to trade. It is not surprising that Minangkabaunese were born to become successful traders, and moving from their villages for trade was inseparable from their lives.

Economic fulfillment, which is regarded as worldly matters, has spawned the third "elite" group in the Minangkabau people's perspective. In addition to *niniak mamak* (tribal

chief) as the top of the group, there were ulamas who became religious leaders, and lastly, traders as a foothold in the city. So these three groups seem to represent the custom, the religion, and the economy.

Colonialism, religious renewal, and worldly tendencies, as described in these subgroups, are the things that affect the mental state of Minangkabau Muslims in the early 20th century (Hadler, 2010). Interesting to note here is how ulamas, in this case, the elder ulamas, responded to these circumstances. As ulamas are always regarded as figures associated as someone steadfastly holding the tradition, did they participate in a shift in values caused by the influence of colonialism, Islamic renewal, and worldly tendencies? Or will they respond and criticize to the socio-religious conditions that nuance the history?

Intellectual Legacy of Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho and His Position among Minangkabau Ulamas

Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho³ who is also known as Angku Djaho is one of the prominent ulamas of the Elder Group. He is a close friend of Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli and Sheikh Abdul Wahid Tabekgadang in the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (PERTI). Together with his friends, he founded Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah which became the basis of Elder Group to transform knowledge. His dedication to education was proven by establishing a madrassa in 1928, a madrasah which was able to produce ulamas concerning on various fields.

Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho (further is called as Sheikh Djaho) was born in 1875 in Djaho, one of the regions in the Padangpanjang region (Edwar [ed], 1981: 99). Padangpanjang is

³ It is necessary to distinguish between the two leading ulamas of the early 20th century in Minangkabau with the same name. First, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djambek, an ulama and astronomer from Bukittinggi. Secondly, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djaho, the ulama discussed in this paper, an ulama and educator, the founder of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho, from Padangpanjang. The mention of "Djaho" at the end of his name is the *nisba* (attribution) of the region of origin.

known as the Veranda of Mecca, which means that this area is the locus of religious knowledge. The intellectual climate shaped by the environment gave a positive influence on the growth of Sheikh Djaho in his childhood.

Sheikh Djaho studied the Qur'an and the basic knowledge of Islam in his hometown. The educational institution was a *surau* led by a Sheikh or *tuanku*. The learning system was in the form of *halaqah*, in which astudents were sitting in a circle in front of the teacher. This traditional system shaped the character of Sheikh Djaho in the childhood. He then desired to study to some ulamas deeply. In addition to learning various knowledge in religion, Sheikh Djaho was also exercised with physical endurance lesson, *silat*. Therefore, in addition to being known as an ulama, Sheikh Djaho was also a famous *pendekar* (Djamily, 1996; and Yunus, 1994).

After finishing studying the Qur'an and basic knowledge of religion through the *matn* books, Sheikh Djaho then began his intellectual journey. He went to some ulamas in Minangkabau to study various scientific fields seriously. Among the ulamas who became his teachers were Sheikh Abdullah Halaban (d. 1926) and Sheikh Muhammad Sa'ad al-Khalidi Mungka (d. 1920). These two names were important figures in Islamic knowledge in Darek in the late 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century. They were the leaders of the *Ittihād 'Ulāma Sumatera* (Association of Sumatran Ulamas) a legendary ulama organization in Minangkabau.

Sheikh Abdullah Halaban is a figure who established the foundation of Islamic education at *surau* institution in Darek. He is a qualified ulama in *fiqh*, *uṣūl fiqh*, and *mantiq* (logic). According to local historiography, it is narrated that Sheikh Abdullah came to examine eminent ulamas of Darek in the matter of *fiqh*, but no one could answer him until once he met Sheikh Sa'ad Mungka and confessed his scholarship (Sa'adi, 1988: 15). Because Sheikh Abdullah was a legendary expert in fiqh and *uṣūl fiqh*, Sheikh Djaho wanted to learn from him.

It was quite a long time Sheikh Djaho studied religion to Sheikh Abdullah until he was appointed by his teacher as *guru tuo* (assistant) who assisted the teaching process at Surau Halaban. In Halaban, Sheikh Djaho had a close relationship with Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli who also became a *guru tuo*, so that there was a close relationship between these two figures (Yunus, 1994: 33-34). To Sheikh Djaho, Sheikh Abdullah was an influential teacher in thoughts and education.

Sheikh Muhammad Sa'ad al-Khalidi Mungka (further is called as Sheikh Mungka) was the second figure that influenced Sheikh Jaho's personality. Unlike previous teachers, Sheikh Djaho learned to Sheikh Muhammad Sa'ad when he had taught and was known as an ulama.

Sheikh Mungka was a prominent ulama in Darek. The surau where he taught was always attended by students from different regions of Minangkabau. He was known as *syaikh al-al-masyāikh*(the great teacher) (Abbas, 1975). Although this title is somewhat ambitious, history records that the *halaqah* of Sheikh Mungka was only filled with ulamas. The beginners (*mubtadi*) were provided with *guru suduik* (common teacher) who taught religious knowledge for basic and intermediate levels. Sheikh Mungka preferred to speak in Arabic to Minangkabau language (Yahya, 1978: 15). In addition, he was fond to write books and letters in the form of *syi'iř*. This all proved his scholarship level.

The popularity of Sheikh Mungka rose higher as he refuted the opinion of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi on the issue of the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa and the inheritance system of the heirloom. He wrote several books to defend the *tariqa* and implementation of the Shafi'ite madhhab (Putra, 2011: 39-41). His expertise in *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* made himself the source from which the people were seeking answer when theyu had a problem in religion.

Sheikh Djaho came to Mungka along with his friends, such as Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli, Sheikh Machudum Solok, Sheikh Salim Bayur, and

others (Sa'adi, 1988: 16). The field of scholarship that was discussed in the *halaqah* of Sheikh Mungka was *fiqh*, with the *Tuhfah al-Muhtaj* book, the main book in the Shafi'ite madhhab. In addition, some ulamas came specifically to study *taṣawwuf* because Sheikh Mungka was also the *mursyid* of the Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa. Learning in Mungka, Sheikh Djaho did not settle down as in other places before. He came for a few days and returned to Djaho to lead the madrasa he founded. Sheikh Djaho learned to Shaikh Mungka until his teacher died in 1920.

In addition to Sheikh Abdullah Halaban and Sheikh Sa'ad Mungka, the figure that shaped the personality and the mind of Sheikh Djaho was Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. The last figure was a prominent ulama in Haramain. He became the master who led *halaqah* at the Al-Haram Mosque (Edwar, 1981: 15-20). Due to the position he has attained, namely as an imam and preacher in the Shafi'ite Madhhab, he is the pride for Southeast Asian students. Any student from Southeast Asia who came to Mecca always visited him.

The expertise of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib is in the field of *fiqh*. This is not surprising because he is one of the main disciples of Sayyid Bakri Syatha, a prominent Shafi'iyte *fiqh* expert in Mecca. In fact, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib can be called as the ulama behind the spread of the *I'ānah al-Tālibīn* book in Nusantara.

Sheikh Djaho settled in Mecca for 10 years. Most of his 10 years staying there, he used it to study religion. In addition to Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, he also studied to Sheikh Ali al-Maliki, Sheikh Sa'id Yamani, and others (Yunus, 1994: 35-38). Several years were used for teaching. He was one of the few disciples of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who had been allowed to teach at the Al-Haram Mosque.

After obtaining a diploma from some ulamas in Mecca and having gained teaching experience, Sheikh Djaho then returned to his hometown, Djaho. He then taught in Sheikh Adam's *surau* and began to develop the knowledge he studied

in Mecca (Yahya, 1978: 42). In 1928, under the agreement of the elder ulamas in Canduang, Sheikh Djaho developed Sheikh Adam's *halaqah* into a madrasa with the classical system. This madrasa is known as Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho (Yahya, 1978: 54). This madrasa became one of the first three madrassas of the elders, after the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang and the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Tobekgodang.

The expertise of Sheikh Djaho in the knowledge of '*aqidah*, Arabic, and *fiqh*, made his madrasa grew rapidly. In a short time, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho was visited by students from various regions, even from the Malay Peninsula (Djamily, 1996: 63-85). Medium and high-level education, for seven years, with various lessons such as *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *balāqah*, *tafsīr*, *hadīs*, *taṣawwuf*, and *tauhīd* able to form *santri* (student) with broad insight. Therefore the first generation of this madrasa became pioneers of ulama in the mid-20th century. Students who have obtained diplomas, and have been declared qualified, are expected to open madrassas in their villages. So Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho had branches in some areas, the result of Djaho's graduates who are considered capable of carrying Islamic da'wah into society. Among Sheikh Djaho's prominent disciples as ulama are Sheikh Umar Bakri in Pariangan, Sheikh Zakaria Labai Sati Malalo, Sheikh Muhammad Kanis Tuanku Tuah, Sheikh H. Mansur Dt. Nagari Basa, and others, including a row of Sheikh Djaho's disciples, though studied indirectly, was Sheikh Muda Wali al-Khalidi (Djamily, 1996: 59). The last figure was a very influential Acehnese ulama. He was initially invited to Djaho to have a *muzakarah* (discussion) in religious matters. Then Sheikh Djaho was interested in the depth of his knowledge so that he was made as a son-in-law.

The figure of Sheikh Djaho was very important in Islamic scholarship transmission in Minangkabau in the 20th century. In the scholarly genealogy, Sheikh Djaho lies in the rank of next-generation ulamas. In addition, he also had a significant position in the intellectual struggles of

his time. He was made as a figure to take fatwa from which requested orally and written by various people. In the discussions among ulamas, Sheikh Djaho's opinion was often made as the final conclusion of a problem. This proved that his intellectual maturity was recognized.

As a prominent ulama, Sheikh Djaho also occupied several positions in several organizations. In the *Ittihad Ulama Sumatera*, the first organization among Minangkabau ulamas, he sat on the main board (Majalah Al-Mizan, 1916: 16), while in the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Union, which then developed rapidly in several areas of Sumatra, Sheikh Djaho became one of the founders and had been a chairman. After he reached an old age, he became the mentor and was considered as an important figure.

Besides being active in the socio-religious life, Sheikh Djaho was also known as a prolific writer. His essays were sometimes used as a lesson for *anaksiak* (*santri*) and as a response to the prevailing social conditions of his day. Although Sheikh Djaho preferred writing in Arabic, he had on several occasions used the Minangkabau Malay language as a written language. Among Syaikh Djaho's writings are:

1. *Nujūm al-Hidāyah*, contains a rebuttal to the Ahmadiyya belief.
2. *Suluh Benderang*, contains about the issues that became the debate in the early 20th century. Sheikh Djaho, in this case, affirms his principle in the Asy'ari'ite aqidah and Shafi'ite Madhhab.
3. *Al-Hujjah al-bāligah*, contains about the practice of *Tarawih* prayer and answer some questions about the difference of *Tarawih* problem.
4. *Tazkirat al-Qulūb*, contains about the tasawwuf lesson and become the main book at madrassas under the auspices of Perti.
5. *Kasyafat al-'Awīsah*, describes Arabic grammar. This book is an elaboration of *Matn Ajurūniyah* the popular Arabic grammar book (Yunus, 1994: 72).

In addition to the aforesaid books, Sheikh Djaho wrote some articles in several magazines. Unfortunately, these articles have not been well documented. These writings are an original form of Sheikh Djaho's thoughts. Some of them are still used and read to this day.

***Tazkirat al-Qulūb* as The Monumental Work of Sheikh Djamil Djaho**

The book of *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* the popular and widespread work of Sheikh Djaho. Passing through the period after this text was produced, *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* is still used as a teaching material in some madrassas and *majelis taklim* (religious study group) now, in addition as an individual readings. It is interesting to discuss the text that is still alive, not only at the time of its writing. In addition to proving that the work is populist, it also gives the understanding that the matters revealed in the book are still relevant.

There are several things that are discussed in the *Tazkirat al-Qulūb*. In accordance with the context of the early 20th century, there are at least three important points in the book. First, criticism of Islamic renewal. Second, an assessment of the pseudo-sufi. Third, the response to the misleading intellectual. Regarding the Islamic renewal, Sheikh Djaho gave a sharp criticism, especially in the realm of fatwa and *ijtihād*. He argued that not everyone can give a fatwa and *ijtihād*. There are special requirements that must be met. The leeway in fatwa and *ijtihād*, according to him, is the ambiguity that can damage the teachings of religion itself. With regard to the *pseudo-sufi*, Sheikh Djaho judges them as a hypocrite who sells the appearance of Sufism. Finally, misleading intellectuals are considered as ulamas who have the impact of stagnating Islamic teachings.

From the type of religious knowledge categorization, *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* is a work that contains about the explanation of *taṣawwuf*. The important point of this book is about the character of a person, in addition to God, is also to others. Like other books for *taṣawwuf* genre, the discussion of this book is not about explaining the law and the proposition, but it

is more conservative, giving the explanation of the importance of noble characters and various alternatives in being in the boundary of *syara'*.

The authorship of this book was more driven by personal reality. Unlike other books of ulamas in his day which were written to fulfill a person's request, the book was born as an answer to the question he himself invented. For the author himself, which in this context is the subject, he was conducting a question and answer himself. Subject and object are one in imaginative conversation. This is a new writing style for that time.

Tazkirat al-Qulūb writing was for a personal reason. Sheikh Djaho at a young age was no longer felt there was an empty thing to him. In fact, in his career and wealth, he was quite well-off. His career as a prominent ulama was brilliant; he was appointed to the main board of the *Ittihād 'Ulāma Sumatera* and became the leader of the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association, as well as a renowned madrasa caretaker. From an economic point of view, he was categorized as a middle class, though his daily activities were just teaching. Sheikh Djaho wrote that his anger was caused by the dryness of spirituality. His activity which was always solely in the knowledge had caused him to neglect to worship in the true sense. He wrote (Djaho, n.d.: 3):

فَلَمَّا طَالَ عَمْرِي وَهُوَ ثَمَانِيَّةُ وَخَمْسُونَ سَنَةً وَلَمْ يَتَأْثِرْ قَلْبِي
بِعِلْمٍ وَلَا يَزَادُ هَذَا مَعَ ازْدِيادِ الْعِلْمِ زَادَ قَلْبِي رَغْبَةً فِي الدُّنْيَا
وَكَسْلَا فِي الْعِبَادَةِ نَفَرَتْ وَتَأَمَّلَتْ فِي اسْبَابِهِ فَوُجِدَتْ أَنْ سَبِيلَهُ فَقَدَانَ
الْمَرَاقِبَةُ وَعَدَمُ مَلَازِمَةِ التَّفْكِيرِ مَعَ ضَعْفِ الْيَقِينِ وَالثَّبَّتُتْ مَعَ اللَّهِ

"When I am already 58 years old, yet none of the knowledge is in my heart; it doesn't increase as the knowledge increases. Even each knowledge is increased, also increased the love for the world and there is laziness in my worship. I pondered and thought about it, so I found that I did not do *muraqabah*, *tafakkur*, even putting weak faith and determination to God."

Although Sheikh Djaho mentioned the reason that the writing of this text was based on personal interests, it is undeniable that other things encouraged his productivity in writing *Tazkirat al-Qulūb*. Other causes of the writing of

this work can be seen from the content, which will be discussed at the next point.

The text of *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* was written in Arabic with a rather interesting style of language (*uslub*). In addition to its easy diction selection, its arrangement is literary in nature. Then there are some circles mentioned that this text is *iqtibās* (quote) from its predecessor, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Hamka, 1982: 215). Although the material presented in this book is similar to *Iḥyā'* from al-Ghazali's work, but anyone cannot be sure that this book is a quote other than an indication which based on similarity in a small percentage. From the composition of the chapter, as will be explained later, and the discussion, and the presence of local content relating to religious circumstances in Minangkabau, it all proves that this book is his own work, although it is possible that Sheikh Djaho was influenced by al-Ghazali's *taṣawwuf* thoughts.

The text of *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* was written in the early decade of the 1940s, a few years before he died. There is no indication that this book is his last work, but the contents of this book reflect the maturity of thinking based on long enough experience.

The book of *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* is a quite popular book. This can be seen from the percentage of usage of this book as a teaching material on the *taṣawwuf* subject at the 'aliyah level in Perti madrasas.⁴ As of this writing, this work is still maintained as a teaching material, even by NU pesantren and some *Majelis Taklim*.⁵ This proves that this book still has an important position among Minangkabau santri.

The first print of this book was not provided with the information of publisher nor the date of publication. Two texts that are always propagated manually are *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* prints of Maktabah Nusantara Bukittinggi. One print

⁴ Among the madrasas that use this book are Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho (Padangpanjang), Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Tobekgadang, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Kotopanjang Lampasi, and others.

⁵ Al-Ma'ārif al-Sā'ādiyah Pesantren, as an NU base in Limapuluh Kota, also made this book as a teaching material for tasawwuf.

is the second print which mentions the year. This print cooperated with Maktabah Al-Ma‘ārif belonging to Haji Ilyas Fort de Kock. The second text is the fourth print by Maktabah Nusantara in 1956. Information about the reprinting is not known anymore, but the book is then widespread by photocopy.

Viewed from its physical manuscript, *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* includes a small book consisting of 65 pages that already includes a list of *taṣwīb* (misprint), *filhris* (table of contents), and *muqaddimah* (introduction). Although fairly small, the contents of this book are deep. It is very rare for a class to complete the lesson about this book within a year.

It consists of two great titles (the book). The first title is the book of *al-Muraqabah*, explaining the importance of awareness of God's oversight in every behavior. The second title is the book of *al-Gurūr*, explaining matters that can deceive people so that they are negligent from God. Each title has parts of chapters. The Book of *al-Muraqabah* contains seven chapters, including asbab *al-muraqabah* (causes of *muraqabah*), *i’sār al-zikr* (dhikr regularly), *muhasabah al-nafs* (self-introspection), *mujanabah amr al-nafs* (fight against desires) ‘*adam ittiba’ al-hawa*’ (not following the worldly wishes), *al-haya*’ (sense of shame), *al-taubah* (repentance), *zikr al-maut* (remembering death), and *tafakur syiddah al-maut* (contemplating on death matters). In the second part, the book of *al-Gurūr*, there are four discussions, namely the *Gurūr* of knowledge expert, the *Gurūr* of worship expert, the *Gurūr* of *tasjawwuf* expert, and the *Gurūr* of the worldly matters expert. The discussion of *Gurūr* (deceit) dominates *Tazkirat al-Qulūb*.

The ulamas put *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* as the monumental work of Sheikh Djaho. Among those who placed this book as the main work of Sheikh Djaho was Sirajuddin Abbas, a politician ulama who documented the old Minangkabau ulamas (Abbas 1975: 352). In addition, Yunus Yahya, an ulama who once met Sheikh Djaho, placed this work as a brilliant idea (Yahya, 1978: 16). Criticism of this book was given by Hamka in his

Ayahku. Hamka mentioned Sheikh Djaho as a disingenuous figure in conveying the memoirs of Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, and Jamaluddin al-Afghani. As a figure who was fascinated by the thoughts of three early reformer figures of the 20th century, Hamka judged Sheikh Djaho was too hasty. Hamka's criticism was based on Sheikh Djaho 's statement that the origin of the *Gurūr* of knowledge is the three aforementioned reformers. Hamka's writing appeared several years after the death of Sheikh Djaho.

***Tazkirat al-Qulūb* as Self-Criticism to Socio-Religiosity**

As revealed in the fragment above, the discussion of *Gurūr* (deceit) in *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* dominates its discussion. Sheikh Djaho in the book of *Gurūr* mentions four groups that can be influenced by deceit so that the essence of these four matters only acts as a mask covering their true identity. What Sheikh Djaho reveals when considering the Minangkabau socio-religious condition in the early 20th century is a reality. The information provided by an Indonesianist, Hadler, mentions at least there are some elements that make the dynamics of Minangkabau always alive. Especially it was in the early 20th century, the question of colonial policy, the desire to get out of the economic down turn, and the religion modernization. These three things are a form of *al-mugtarīn* (the deceived ones) on Sheikh Djaho's version. Seen from the context of the *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* writer, the discussion of *al-Gurūr* that dominates the content is a synthesis of the circumstances experienced and or around Sheikh Djaho. The writing becomes a way of responding to such situation, which Sheikh Djaho also used as a disclosure as well as a critique of matters that are not in line with the foundation of religion.

From the socio-religious context of Minangkabau in the early 20th century, the *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* tries to respond to three fundamental matters, which according to Sheikh Djaho, are considerable to corrupt the religion and society. The three matters are the renewal of Islam, pseudo-Sufi, and intellectual. Each matter

was responded by Sheikh Djaho in a persuasive way according to Sufi tradition.

Response to Islamic Renewal

The renewal of Islam is inseparable in the Nusantara in the early 20th century. The birth of the reform movement has brought about a lot of influence on the socio-religious conditions in various regions. Minangkabau became one of the reforming bases raised by the Youth Group, as mentioned above. There were a number of things that took the attention of Youth Group in Minangkabau, ranging from the *tariqa* problem that dragged ulamas in long debates, to minor issues such as death ceremony. Not infrequently the debate of these matters made the people split into groups according to their choice.

Sheikh Djaho was an ulama who was directly connected with Islamic renewal in Minangkabau. In addition to being the main disciple of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, a figure considered to be behind the renewal movement in Minangkabau, Sheikh Djaho also once led the Muhammadiyah Modernist organization in Padangpanjang. Then he was reported resigned from the organization after attending a conference in Java. Differences in religious understanding became the reason that should be put forward for his attitude.

Regarding the Islamic renewal, the text of *Tazkirat al-Qulūb* presents his discussion about this subject in *al-Gurūr* part, especially on the *afāt al-dīn wa nawaqidūhā* (confusion in religion and how to prevent it). It is well known that Sheikh Djaho is on the side of the Elder Group, who by all his rejection of the reformulation of religious traditions that have been considered established. Sheikh Djaho, in sarcastic language, strongly criticized renewal efforts in the Islamic material, including the attachment to the *fiqh mazhab* and the practice of the Sufi order. Sheikh Djaho assertively stated that those who make *fatwa* with no related knowledge is a *mujtahid jāhil* (moronic fatwa expert):

وَأَمَّا مُجتَهِدٌ جَاهِلٌ فَهُوَ أَكْثَرُ شَيْءٍ افْسَادًا فِي الدِّينِ
وَيُفْتَنُ بِمَا هُوَاهُ وَيُحَلِّ مَا كَانَ مَحْرُمًا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَيُحَرِّمُ مَا كَانَ

حَلَالًا وَهَذَا هُوَ الْأَكْثَرُ وَالْأَغْلَبُ فِي زَمَانِنَا

“And as for the *mujtahid jāhil* then he is the one who damages the religion the most... he makes *fatwaas* he pleases; justifying what is forbidden by Allah, and forbid what Allah has permitted. There are many of these groups in our time” (Djaho, n.d.: 56).

Sheikh Djaho concluded that the Islamic renewal was proclaimed by three main figures, namely Muhammad Abduh, Sayyid Ridha, and Jamaluddin al-Afghani. Muhammad Abduh and Sayyid Ridha, a teacher and a student, are figures who consider the attitude of *jumud* (frozen mind) in religion as the cause of the decline of Islam. *Jumud* can be demonstrated by excessive fanaticism towards certain *fiqh mazhab* following the Sufi order which reduces their time to work in the religion, and the absence of a tradition of critical thinking among ulamas. The thoughts of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridha were stated in the *al-Manār* magazine which later spread widely to Minangkabau. This reformists' thinking influenced the Minangkabau Youths to break down the ulama tradition in the regions. *Taqlid* attitude was attacked with *al-Manār*'s line of thought. It also includes local traditions which are not written in *qat'i* (clearly) fashion in the Qur'an and Hadith.

In addition to the *al-Manār* magazine the reformer also left the Quranic interpretation with the same name, *Tafsir al-Manār*. In addition to containing ideas about renewal, this interpretation also proposes the possibility of a review for interpretations that were considered as a standard before. The *al-Manār* magazine and the *Tafsir al-Manār* were spread in Minangkabau through the hands of Indonesian students in al-Azhar.

According to Sheikh Djaho, the influence of *al-Manār* did not merely give influence to the Youth Group, more than that he was considered as a breakthrough of the elements of the *mazhab* with the slogan of returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah. Even though not everyone can directly

refer to the Qur'an as the basis of the *istinbat al-ahkam* (issuing the law). Sheikh Djaho's strong statement was:

رؤساء المجتهدين الجاهلين جمال الدين أفغاني ومحمد عبده ورشيد رضا صاحب جريدة المنار كلهم ضالون ومضلون الناس هم مصلحون في ظنهم بل هم مفسدون في الدين.

"The main figures of the *mujtahid jāhil* were Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdūh, and Rashid Ridha, the leaders of *al-Manār Magazine*. They are misguided and misleading. They think that they are a reformer group, on the contrary, they are destroyers of religion (teachings)" (Djaho, n.d.: 56).

Sharp criticisms toward the thoughts of Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdūh, and Rashid Ridha were not only from Sheikh Djaho himself, even some other ulamas also gave views on *al-Manār* even its interpretations had been forbidden for reading. Until the 1970s, criticisms to the *al-Manār* and the figure behind the magazine remained. Sirajuddin Abbas (1964) included religion modernization in the book of "40 Masalah Agama" (40 Problems in Religion) which is still popular until now. On the contrary, among the Youth Group at that time, they also aggressively introduced the thoughts of the reformers. Hamka wrote several times about the biographies of al-Afghani, Abdūh, and Rasyid Ridha accompanied by the mention of their services. Therefore it is not surprising that Hamka is a strong critic to the contents of the *Tazkirat al-Qulūb*.

Response to the Pseudo-Sufi

The beginning of the 20th century was the period of the development of Sufi orders in Minangkabau. Several Sufi orders such as Naqsyabandiyah, Sammanniyah, Syattariyah, and Syadziliyyah showed strong influence in the scientific tradition in Minangkabau *suraū*. Some well-known *sheikhs* were present and received many followers. Bruinessen report states that *tariqa* is an important religious rite at that time. Almost all ulama in the rural regions were

affiliated to one of the *mu'tabar* (recognized) *tariqas*.

Something which became an important rite attracts common people to enliven the Sufi order. Not a few of those who claimed to be Sufi *sheikhs* were attracting attention and profit. Many cases, as noted by Yahya (1954), were occurred due to false *sheikh* who sold knowledge just like a peddler selling his goods (Yahya, 1954: 47). The main purpose was to seek wealth by selling the *sheikh* title to those who want to pay a certain price. This situation created anxiety while ulamas had the spirit to maintain the *tariqa* straight. So that in 1954, there was a Naqsyabandiyah Tariqa conference which brought about 280 ulamas from *tariqas* from various regions in Central Sumatra. One theme discussed in the conference was to minimize the indication of a false sufi, known as the *pseudo-Sufi*.

Sheikh Djaho was an ulama who engaged in *tariqa*. Some of his teachers were famous Sheikhs of *tariqa*. Although he had studied to Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, who was known as a strong critic to *tariqa* practices, he did not seem to be much affected in this regard. Indeed, in the course of his life, he had never been mentioned teaching *tariqa*, but he gave a wide opportunity to his students to develop *tariqa*. Responding to the *pseudo-sufi*, Sheikh Djaho also provided a space in the *Tazkirat al-Qulūb*. Although its nature acts as an advice, some assertions in the text imply the strict principle of Sheikh Djaho that false sufi is a form of *ghurur* that has the potential to damage the religion. Sheikh Djaho called them as people who only dress as Sufi; thinking themselves as Sufi (Djaho, n.d.: 45):

انهم شبها بهم في لباسهم وهن اتهموا واحوالهم وتكلمهم
فاما تكلفووا هذه الأمور وتشبهوا بهم فيما ظنوا أنهم أيضا
صوفية

"They (only) resemble a Sufi on clothing, behavior, circumstances, and speech. When they can do something according to these matters and can resemble the circumstances of those Sufi, they then assume that they are Sufi."

The assertion of Sheikh Djaho's stance was written at the end of the discussion of *jama'ah al-mutashawwifah* (the *pseudo-Sufi* group):

والحال انه عند الله من الفجار المنافقين وعند ارباب القلوب هو من الحمقى الجاهلين.

"In conclusion, really they –the *pseudo Sufi*-, in the side of God, are hypocrites. While among the *qulub* experts (the real *tasawwuf* experts), they are foolish."

Response toward Misleading Intellectuals

The discussion about the ambiguity of ulamas (intellectuals) has a wide place in the *Tazkirat al-Qulub*. The misleading intellectuals mentioned in this case are those who use knowledge for something wrong. In al-Gāzali's terms, an intellectual who uses his knowledge to pursue worldly desires and obtain personal gain is called the '*ulama' sū'* (evil ulamas). (al-Bantani, n.d.: 4).

Minangkabau is one of the regions known as the land of a thousand ulamas. Many ulamas were born and had a career in this area. It is common place that while ulamas have a diverse orientation, it is not just knowledge for charity or giving lessons to the people. In addition, there are ulamas who are sincere in pursuing their knowledge, there are also ulamas who use their knowledge for worldly matters, such as seeking position, office, follower, and wealth. Entering the 20th century with a variety of novelty, it makes the difference in the typology of ulamas increasingly sharp.

Sheikh Djaho distinguished ulama *gurūr* into nine categories. First, ulamas who study knowledge without doing charity. Second, ulamas who only practice worship, but they do not study the knowledge to cleanse the heart. Third, ulamas who are not concerned with the improvement of the soul. Fourth, ulamas who study *Syari'ah* and *haqiqah* without implementing them in their life. Fifth, ulamas who positioned themselves as *mufti* (fatwa giver) but they cannot guard themselves against despicable matters. Sixth, ulamas who

like to argue. Seventh, ulamas who can only give advice to others, but not for themselves. Eighth, ulamas who give speeches in order to get sympathy from their listeners (Djaho, n.d.: 25-39). The sixth category, the ulamas who like to debate and then gives an explanation on the discussion of its own, namely the *āfat al-dīn wa nawaqiduhu* chapter. The expansion done by Sheikh Djaho on the chapter indicates that this is an important one, in accordance with the circumstances experienced in that period.

CONCLUSION

Sheikh Djaho was one of the leading ulamas in Minangkabau in the early 20th century. In the circle of ulamas, he was a respected figure. His position as a *ulama* is supported by his intellectuality and activities in the field of education, namely the founder and caretaker of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Djaho.

As an *ulama* who lived in the era of religious upheaval in the early 20th century, Sheikh Djaho gave views on matters that he considered could shift Islamic values at that time. His views are expressed in the book *Tazkirat al-Qulub*, one of them, to not mention as his only work, the work of a Perti *ulama* who still has a place as material in the *pesantren* and *majelis taklim*. The views given by Sheikh Djaho are in the form of subtle criticism. In some places, especially things that are considered important, Sheikh Djaho wrote firm words that show his principles as Elder *Ulama*.

There are three things that can be concluded in this article. First, the presence of Sheikh Djaho's criticism departs from the reality of the *ulama*'s life and the general public at that time. Reality makes an *ulama* speak as it is in response to circumstances. Second, the reality of social life keeps a text alive in society. The existence of *Tazkirat al-Qulub* in the midst of society, to this day, indicates that the reality experienced by Sheikh Djaho in his time still exists today. Third, the solution to the socio-religious reality can be set forth in the framework of understanding of *taṣawwut*, as done by Sheikh Djaho in his *Tazkirat al-Qulub*.

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